

# **Programme of Struggle and Unity**

**Action**

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# **PROGRAMME OF STRUGGLE AND UNITY IN ACTION**

**(First Anniversary of  
International Conference of  
Communist and Workers' Parties)**



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The International Conference of Communist and Workers' Parties took place in Moscow a year ago.

Twelve months is a short period, but even in this space of time one can clearly discern the main lines of the bearing the Conference has had on the course of world developments. The past year has confirmed that the June (1969) Plenary Meeting of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the fraternal Marxist-Leninist Parties and other political forces coming out against imperialism were justified in their high appraisal of the Conference.

What is happening in the world shows how correctly the Conference documents and speeches of the participants analyzed the modern-day international situation and trends of its development.

The results of the past year have most convincingly shown the mobilizing and uniting force of the programme of anti-imperialist struggle formulated and adopted by the Conference. The world-wide circulation of the Conference documents and materials helped expose imperialism to millions of people.

Today, a year after the Conference, one clearly sees the place it has occupied in the life of

the communist movement itself. The international forum of fraternal parties and its conclusions and recommendations prompted further moves towards solidifying the unity of the communist ranks on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

For the fraternal parties the first year of effort for implementing the ideas and conclusions of the Moscow Conference was at the same time a year of preparing for and holding the centenary of the birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin. There was a deep-going connection between the two. The Conference's many-sided work served as a vital prerequisite for the mobilization of revolutionary forces that keynoted the Lenin centenary year. A principled ideological and political role was played by the Address "Centenary of the Birth of Vladimir Ilyich Lenin," adopted by the Conference, which affirmed the loyalty of the Communists to Leninism—the firm ideological basis of the communist movement. In turn, the activities of the fraternal parties in the Lenin centenary year helped to consolidate the success of the Conference, and enhance its influence on the development of the international revolutionary movement, of all the anti-imperialist forces.

## I.

A significant achievement of the 1969 International Conference was the profound and realistic analysis of the general state of affairs in the world. Stressing that the common trend of social development is now determined by the activities of progressive forces—the world socialist system, the international workers' and natio-

nal-liberation movements and all democratic movements of modern times—the Conference, at the same time, noted that this development was by no means following a straight course. The struggle of the forces of socialism and democracy, on the one hand, and of imperialism and reaction, on the other, acquires an ever more complicated, many-sided, and, sometimes, acute nature. It would be particularly dangerous in such conditions to underestimate both the forces of progress and the opposing forces—the forces of imperialism which still have great economic and military power and remain a dangerous enemy of mankind.

The past year fully confirmed the correctness of these fundamental conclusions. The general international situation continued to develop in a favourable direction for the revolutionary movement. The forces of peace, democracy and socialism grew noticeably stronger and more united. Their joint moves against imperialism and its aggressive policy became more vigorous and concerted. At the same time, the past 12 months were also marked by fresh aggressive moves on the part of imperialism, which seeks to thrust its own reactionary solution of international issues on the nations.

American imperialism continues to be the main danger to the cause of peace, freedom and security of the peoples. Suffice it to recall the unprecedented effrontery of US aggressive actions in Cambodia and Laos, Washington's ever wider support and encouragement of the Israeli aggressive circles, and the provocations against Cuba from United States territory.

However, as the Conference pointed out, there

are limits to the possibilities of imperialist aggressive policy in our times. The aggressors are encountering mounting resistance. This resistance primarily comes from the socialist system, the most consistent and powerful opponent of imperialism. The specific feature of the present stage of development is that, together with the socialist countries, the communist movement, and revolutionary national-liberation forces, new masses of people have joined the struggle against imperialism, people who not long ago were far removed from politics. This certainly provides fresh possibilities for the anti-imperialist struggle.

Vivid evidence of increasing opposition to the criminal imperialist policy is the situation that has now arisen in the United States itself.

American society is rocked by a profound crisis. The biggest imperialist power is caught up in a conflict between the heights of technical development and depravity of the social system in which the top leaders of the propertied class insolently disregard human lives and the interests of the people. This conflict helps the masses in the United States get free from the influence of imperialist ideology and join the protest movement which assumes ever-greater political acuteness. The police functions assumed by the American ruling circles make it increasingly clear to all thinking people that the very system of imperialism is the carrier of war danger to human civilization, the strangler of freedom of peoples, a force hostile to all progressive ideals.

The United States Government has never before been confronted with such a stormy mass protest of millions of Americans against its poli-

cy. There is also a serious split among the ruling circles. Many influential people have been shocked by the adventurist actions of the United States Government.

An important feature of the present anti-imperialist movement is the increasing desire to coordinate and unite the efforts of different anti-imperialist forces. Imperialist strategy in the past has been to keep these forces from uniting and try to suppress them one by one. It is now obvious that such schemes get them nowhere. This is seen from the truly world-wide character which the campaign of opposition to United States aggressive actions in the Indochinese countries has assumed.

The Paris conference of Communist Parties of European capitalist countries which drew important conclusions about coordinating actions in connection with events in South-East Asia; the conference of representatives of the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos, which decided to coordinate efforts to resist aggression; the Stockholm world conference of peaceloving forces which decided to launch a world-wide campaign for signatures demanding the immediate and unconditional evacuation of the troops of the United States and its allies from Vietnamese soil; the Cairo international conference in support of the struggle of the Laotian and other peoples of Indochina—these are but some of the recent important international demonstrations of solidarity. They show that the peoples of the world are coming to realize with growing insight that the interests of entire mankind are inseparably tied in with the destinies of the South-East Asian countries and there is a definite connection between the struggle against United States aggression in Vietnam,

Cambodia and Laos and the struggle against imperialism as a system.

The 1969 Conference considered it important to launch an extensive campaign of solidarity with the peoples of the Arab countries. And this movement has developed on a broad scale. Co-operation of the socialist countries, and primarily the Soviet Union, with the peoples of the Arab states has reached a new level. This expands also the possibilities of struggle for a political settlement of the Middle East conflict that would take into account the legitimate interests of all the peoples. The meetings of Communists, representatives of democratic organizations and of the Arab national-liberation movement held of late helped strengthen the international solidarity of the working people with the just struggle of the peoples of the Middle East against the aggression of Israel and its backers.

All this denotes the peoples' increasing realization of the dangers of the policy of the ruling circles of Israel, its imperialist basis and trend. There is growing understanding of the true aims and character of the struggle of the Arab peoples as an important component part of the anti-imperialist movement as a whole.

It is important to note another feature of the present anti-imperialist struggle—its militant nature. Currently, the task is not only to rebuff the various imperialist ventures but also to gain political positions that would enable peaceful democratic forces to have a greater bearing on the general course of events. And it is from these positions that the masses on the entire continent of Europe are fighting for peace and security. They are endeavouring to provide reliable guarantees

against possible imperialist provocations in this part of the world. And since Europe has been playing a very important part in world development one can very well understand that such a struggle is no small factor of the general anti-imperialist offensive. German Communists are also making their contribution. This struggle has promoted the growth of realistically-minded and progressive forces in the FRG, and this is another fresh indication of a change in the political situation in West Europe.

The peoples of Latin America are putting up a militant struggle for a just solution of their problems. This struggle has likewise helped consolidate the international position of heroic Cuba. There are serious cracks in the Western Hemisphere's isolation and blockade of the Cuban Republic that has been masterminded by US ruling circles for such a long time. In many Latin American countries there is a growing understanding of the need to resolutely resist the Yankee imperialists and provide opportunities for independent and free national development of these countries, for genuine economic and social progress.

The US imperialists hoped they would be able to muster all the reactionary forces of the old world around their aggressive policy. And, as the Conference had foreseen, the controversies, clashes and conflicts in the capitalist world are being greatly intensified. And this could not be otherwise. The ruling quarters in many Western countries now realize that US policies are pushing their countries ever closer to the brink of an abyss, to a world conflict.

Everyone is aware of the unprecedented unanimity and insistence with which the public in

NATO countries demanded that their governments openly and unequivocally dissociate themselves from Washington's policies and condemn Nixon's decision on the invasion of Cambodia. This has had a telling effect: even governments that formerly had slavishly proclaimed their "solidarity" with every venture of Washington now preferred either to dissociate themselves from this decision or to resort to various ruses and manœuvres to camouflage their pro-American stand.

All this goes to stress with renewed vigour the tasks set by the Conference of seriously, with well-founded arguments, exposing the essence of imperialism, its political strategy, of using concrete facts to expose imperialism's ugly countenance, to make the masses realize that the interests of imperialism and the interests of the entire working mankind are irreconcilable.

The exposure of imperialism is all the more effective the closer it is tied in with practical struggle and organizational work. The lessons of the past year show that in answer to defeats and blows inflicted on them the imperialists are seeking new ways of achieving their goals. They are continuing to resort to direct aggression, to devise new plans for subversive actions against the democratic forces in various areas and countries.

All these attempts should be rebuffed in good time. One should not wait until the aggressors begin to act. Ever-increasing numbers of people are arriving at the conclusion that it is necessary to mobilize the nations now and establish an atmosphere of intolerance to fresh manifestations of the imperialist policies that would prevent the aggressors from carrying out their plans.

From this point of view the platform for joint

action of anti-imperialist forces proposed by the Conference is becoming increasingly imperative. The past year showed that this platform correctly expressed the vital requirements of the present stage of historical development and focussed the attention of the progressive forces in the world on the really vital and urgent problems of our times.

The strategy of anti-imperialist struggle defined by the Conference is one of consistently tying in a rebuff to imperialism's aggressive actions with the struggle for international security, for preventing the outbreak of a thermo-nuclear war, for the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems. Some critics maintain that not all aspects of this strategy are compatible. Assertions of this kind either denote a lack of understanding of the core of the matter or are a deliberate attempt to compromise the real anti-imperialist struggle.

Past and present experience shows that only by consistently tying in a rebuff to imperialism in any form with a firm policy of peaceful coexistence and international cooperation can lead to success.

The strategy of the anti-imperialist forces is fully in keeping with the present state of the international political struggle. It is as extensive and many-sided as life itself today. This strategy takes into account all the basic aspects of present-day life and offers a constructive solution of the cardinal problems facing mankind.

## II.

The efficacy of the platform of anti-imperialist actions worked out by the Conference is pri-

marily determined by the fact that it is being supported by the mighty socio-political forces of our times: the world socialist system, the working class of the capitalist countries, and the national-liberation movement.

The Conference stressed that the world socialist system was the determining factor of the anti-imperialist struggle. And the soundness of this conclusion is confirmed by the entire course of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples. It is not only up to the socialist states and the Communists to support socialism and strengthen its positions in the world arena. The progressive forces are becoming increasingly aware that further changes in the correlation of forces, in favour of peace, democracy, national liberation, and socialism depend on the strength of the socialist system. In emphasizing the importance of preserving and consolidating the socialist gains of the peoples, the Conference documents pointed out that "the defence of socialism is an internationalist duty of the Communists."

The bearing that socialism has on the course of world events, its contribution to the common cause of all anti-imperialist forces depend on the cohesion of the socialist countries. Characterizing the position of the world socialist system one can say that in all respects—state, public, economic and military—the same thing is happening: the contacts in the socialist community are becoming stronger and more diversified, socialist solidarity is increasingly becoming a factor of the traditions of friendship. There is greater unity of the socialist countries that consistently follow the road of Marxism-Leninism and concerted coordination of their foreign policy activities. The socialist coun-

tries have recently taken a number of important jointly agreed measures that enhance the influence of world socialism on the international situation.

The joint statement of the fraternal parties of some socialist countries on the situation in the Middle East has demonstrated their agreed stand on eliminating the consequences of the Israeli aggression. The joint initiative of the socialist countries has made it possible to prevent the further proliferation of nuclear weapons. The consistent and persistent efforts of the Warsaw Treaty countries for convening an all-European conference to consider vital problems of the European continent has brought this issue into the focus of European politics.

Another aspect of enhancing the influence of socialism is to boost its successes in the economic sphere. The socialist world has reached a state of development where it can make much better use of the tremendous potential inherent in the new system. And as pointed out at the Conference, it is up to the Communist Parties at the head of state, to constructively, from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint, solve the problems of socialist development with respect to utilizing this potential.

In an effort to accomplish this task, the CPSU and the Marxist-Leninist parties in other socialist countries are currently concentrating on the drive to accelerate scientific and technological progress and make social production more efficient. They are drafting and implementing concrete measures to promote socialist economic integration. Besides furthering the economic development of the socialist camp, this is of great international significance as it strengthens socialism's positions in the

struggle between the two systems.

The development of socialist society in the countries of the socialist community that are consistently advancing along the road of Marxism-Leninism, is closely tied in with the extension of socialist democracy and improvement of the political administration of society.

The present phase of social development and the scientific and technological revolution present humanity with a number of serious social problems. It is precisely socialism in practice that can and does provide a genuinely constructive answer to these problems which means an answer that truly accords with the vital interests of the working masses.

In the period since the Conference we have witnessed a further upsurge in the mass, democratic, anti-imperialist movement in the capitalist countries.

Events of the past year have debunked the inventions of sundry bourgeois and petty-bourgeois ideologists who claim that the revolutionary potential of the working class is on the wane. Forgotten are the names of those pseudo-revolutionaries who only yesterday went along with fashionable anarchistic ideas. Practice demonstrates again that the working class, as correctly noted at the Conference, is the prime motive and mobilizing force behind the anti-imperialist movement in capitalism's citadels.

The masses are becoming more active and adamant in upholding and defending their economic rights and democratic gains. In this they inevitably enter into sharper conflict with the state-monopoly authorities, with the state apparatus. It

is precisely because of this that political demands concerning both domestic and international issues are playing a mounting role in the working-class struggle in the capitalist countries.

The mass movement of the working class along with the toiling peasantry, the urban middle classes and various sections of the progressive intelligentsia and the students is steadily becoming broader in scope.

Strikes and mass demonstrations, traditional weapons of the proletariat have become the common weapons of the democratic forces in their struggle against the oppression and reactionary policy of the monopolies. What has been happening in the last year in Italy, France, Japan, Spain, Federal Germany and several other countries bears this out.

The broadening scope of the struggle against the omnipotence of monopolies raises even more sharply the question of unity in the working-class movement, a question that was gone into in great detail in the Conference documents. It was confirmed that efforts to attain unity call for determined action against conciliation, against the Right-wing social-democratic leaders who adopt anti-communist positions. The steadily mounting desire for unity within the ranks of the working class has intensified the process of differentiation within the ranks of the social-democratic movement and reformist trade unions, opening up new vistas and prospects in the struggle for unity.

Important changes are taking place in Latin America. The widespread popular movement has been instrumental in forcing the adoption of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal measures in some countries. A series of democratic reforms have

been undertaken in Peru where the American oil company has been nationalized, the agrarian reform law is being implemented and steps to control and supervise foreign trade have been adopted. Several measures of a democratic nature have been implemented in Bolivia. Unity of popular forces, in the effort to secure social transformations in Chile, Uruguay and certain other countries in this part of the world, has made considerable headway.

The upsurge in the working-class and the democratic movement in the capitalist countries shows that conditions are ripe for decisive class action which, as noted in the Conference Main Document, could lead to fundamental social transformations, to socialist revolution, to the establishment of the power of the working class in alliance with other working strata. In these circumstances, the Conference's conclusions that it is essential to be prepared for drastic turns and changes in development, for the possibility of using different and quickly changing forms of struggle are very much to the point.

The events of the past year have graphically confirmed the conclusions as to the role the national-liberation movement plays in the world revolutionary process. Such facts as the consolidation of progressive regimes in the Arab states which are successfully resisting Israeli aggression, the revolutionary transformations in the Sudan, Libya and Somalia, where progressive circles have taken power into their own hands, the mounting armed struggle in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and Guinea-Bissau against the colonialists and racialist fascist regimes, the cessation of hostilities between Kurds and Arabs in Iraq, the termi-

nation of the civil war in Nigeria and the increasing activity of Left-wing forces in the Congo (Brazzaville) all denote the consolidation and the tremendous potentialities of the national-liberation forces.

The imperative need for fundamental social transformations in the zone of national-liberation movements serves to make more active, and to strengthen the positions of vanguard progressive circles. This is evident, for instance, from the success of the nationalization policy in India, from the victory in the last elections in Ceylon of the United Front in which the Communists are also represented.

What is happening in the world corroborates once more the correctness of the conclusion reached at the Conference that the consolidation of the alliance between the anti-imperialist national-liberation movement and world socialism is of paramount importance for the peoples and the newly-independent national states that are struggling against imperialism and neocolonialism, for social progress.

In calling on all working people organizations, on different social strata and political groupings to integrate their efforts with those of the Communist Parties for joint action against imperialism, the Conference urged using the most democratic methods in preparing for, and bringing about joint action, methods proceeding from the extensive and constructive exchange of opinions on all aspects of the struggle against imperialism. Such methods are being increasingly practiced by the Communist Parties in their relations with other progressive political trends and organizations. Respecting the independent and singular

character of the different anti-imperialist trends the Communists seek to achieve greater understanding between them and to jointly work out forms of coordinated action that would serve to elevate the struggle against imperialism to new, higher levels.

### III.

The Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties tied in the struggle against imperialism, for firmer solidarity among the revolutionary forces of today with the struggle to cement the ranks of the communist movement on an international scale. By concentrating on the objective tasks which the development of the world revolutionary process poses for the communist movement, the Conference correctly defined the ways and means of surmounting the difficulties within its ranks. Pinpointing the question of united action by the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces as the key issue, it expressed not only the needs of world social progress but also the internal needs of our movement.

The Conference's collectively reached approach to the issue of cohesion in the communist movement has been completely justified. Concentration of the attention of Communists on positive tasks, on what unites them, has served to reach joint conclusions as to basic ways and means of taking advantage of the new possibilities open to revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces. This in itself was a move towards ideological and political unity. At the same time the thesis that only on the basis of Marxism-Leninism could the right

orientation of joint action and its efficacy be guaranteed was well substantiated at the Conference. This showed that the very tasks of joint action against imperialism make ideological cohesion among the world's Communists imperative. This approach is diametrically opposed to both pessimistic prognostications as to the impossibility of achieving ideological cohesion in the present situation and to the desire to make the complete solution of all differences between the Communist Parties on ideological and political matters a pre-condition for joint action by them.

The convocation of the Conference itself, its results, the development of the principles of proletarian internationalism in the communist movement have helped to enhance its role as a leading ideological and political force in the world revolutionary process. Since the Conference, the Communist and Workers' Parties have become more purposeful and vigorous in the struggle against imperialism. The Parties have expanded their work among the masses: their political work in organizing strikes and various other actions and demonstrations, and ideological work for the purpose of exposing imperialism, fostering class consciousness and spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism among working people.

This is also evident in the stepped-up struggle against all kinds of revisionist tendencies in the communist movement. In a number of countries modern revisionism has come out not only as an ideological but also as a political opponent of Marxist-Leninist parties, directing its main attack not against the class enemy but against the most progressive and organized detachments of the working-class movement. The ideological and po-

itical exposé of opportunist elements in a number of parties has also led to organizational measures being taken with regard to them. The French Communist Party expelled R. Garaudy, and the Italian Communist Party expelled the factional "Manifesto" revisionist group. Revisionism was given a sound rebuff at the recent 21st Congress of the Communist Party of Austria.

The fraternal parties are taking much more effective steps against anti-Sovietism. In the past year it has become clearer that anti-Sovietism is not only directed against solidarity with the Soviet Union and the CPSU, but harms the revolutionary struggle everywhere and merges with various manifestations of opportunism and reactionary nationalism.

The results of the Conference have shown how futile and hopeless are the attempts of the Chinese leadership to impose an anti-Leninist platform on the communist and national-liberation movement. Peking, however, continues its ideological and political war against the Marxist-Leninist parties, keeps on with its splitting activity. The determined struggle of the CPSU and other fraternal parties against the "theories" and the subversive activity of the present Chinese leadership is aimed at defending the interests of the entire international communist movement, its political course in the struggle against imperialism. Over such issues there can be no concessions, for they concern the very foundation and principles of world communism.

The entire history of the communist movement shows that ideological neutrality in questions concerning the essence of scientific communism and radical principles of international revolutionary

strategy ends up as refusal to substantiate and explain to the masses the Marxist-Leninist line, and this is bound to be harmful politically.

At the same time our Party proceeds from the premise that the vital interests of the revolutionary working-class movement demand that everything necessary be done to strengthen cooperation between the socialist countries. The CPSU is striving to normalise relations in every case wherever these have been disrupted, to achieve unity of action between the socialist countries in the struggle against imperialism. The CPSU and the Soviet Government are doing everything to achieve this.

The extension of inter-Party ties has been characteristic of the development of the communist movement over the last year. Practical experience shows that isolationism and separatism make it impossible to solve the revolutionary problems facing a Communist Party. International solidarity ensures contact with class brothers in other countries thereby enhancing the international prestige of a party and its role as a genuinely revolutionary and national force.

Bilateral and multi-lateral contacts on the basis of jointly elaborated principles concerning relations between parties are a kind of mechanism for exchanging experience and opinions, coming to agreements and ensuring real coordination of action in the world arena. After the Conference there were two consultative meetings of Communist Parties of Africa, a conference of representatives from Arab Communist Parties, the 6th Regional Conference of Communist Parties of Mexico, Central American countries and Panama, a meeting of representatives of 12 Latin Ameri-

can Communist Parties, a meeting of representatives of 28 European Communist and Workers' Parties on the question of European security, a meeting of Communist Parties of Northern Europe, and a conference of Communist Parties from European capitalist countries on solidarity with the people of Indochina.

There is growing inter-Party cooperation both on political and ideological matters. The desire was expressed at the Conference that representatives of fraternal parties meet more often to discuss theoretical problems together. This is being done. Six international conferences and symposiums have already been held on urgent problems of the class and national-liberation struggle in which representatives of the Communist Parties of all parts of the world took part. A theoretical conference, "Leninism and the Present Day," in which delegations from 40 fraternal parties participated, was held in Prague in November 1969. Another highly representative international conference on the very topical subject, "Growth of the Role of Leninism in the Modern Epoch and Criticism of Anti-Communism," was held in Moscow in January 1970. Last February Moscow was host to prominent leaders of the international communist and workers' movement from dozens of countries, who participated in a theoretical conference, "Leninism and World Revolutionary Process."

The preparations to celebrate the Lenin centenary and the celebrations themselves developed into a broad political campaign of propaganda, defence and development of the Leninist teaching. In the course of it the vital force of Leninism and its great significance both for the class struggle in

the international arena and in the particular conditions existing in each separate country, were made clear. The Lenin centenary became a truly international jubilee for all fighters against imperialism and for social progress. Representatives of 78 Communist and Workers' Parties, 21 national-democratic parties and organizations and six Left-wing socialist parties took part in the centenary celebrations in Moscow. The resolution to defend and develop Lenin's teaching, to strengthen unity and solidarity in the revolutionary struggle, and to intensify opposition to world imperialism, was expressed clearly and emphatically in the report by L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in the speeches of representatives of fraternal Parties and the Soviet public.

Certainly, in the year since the Conference the atmosphere in the communist movement has improved for the better. However, Marxists-Leninists cannot rest content with what has been achieved. The struggle for unity must not be regarded as a short-term campaign. The cause of unity demands constant and ever-increasing efforts. This is the duty of all Communist and Workers' Parties. Our Party, for its part, will continue to carry aloft the banner of Marxist-Leninist unity of communist ranks.

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The political results of the first year following the Conference, the first practical results of what has been accomplished are bound to gratify all Communists, all fighters against imperialists. These results by themselves are important, but still

more significant is the fact that they will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the prospects and the future of the world communist movement. "The world revolutionary process is developing inexorably," L. I. Brezhnev stressed in his report "Lenin's Cause Lives On and Triumphs." "The stronger and more influential the Marxist-Leninist Parties become, the greater will be the achievements of this process." These changes for the better in the development of the communist movement and the whole of the anti-imperialist front afford new possibilities for revolutionary struggle, and lay the foundation for further new successes for the forces of socialism and progress in the struggle against the forces of imperialism and reaction.

*Pravda*, June 9, 1970

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Программа борьбы и единства в действии

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World communism in the 20th  
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